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ATTACHMENT TO 25X1

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APPARENT TEXTS OF 27 FEBRUARY SPEECHES

Enrico Berlinguer at 25th CPSU Congress

Moscow in Italian to Italy 1330 GMT 28 Feb 76 LD

[Apparent text of speech by Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party, at the 25th CPSU Congress on 27 February--recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, your 25th congress, so important for communists and the Soviet people, is being followed with great interest by international public opinion and particularly by all those fighting for the cause of socialism and peace. Therefore we are particularly pleased to be present at your proceedings and to bring you the fraternal greetings of over 1.7 million members of the Italian Communist Party. [applause]

We listened to the report by Comrade Brezhnev with keen attention. It allowed us to understand better the multifarious work carried out by your party in the past 5 years, and to appreciate, at the very moment when the great and undeniable advances achieved were being outlined, the realism and objectivity with which economic and social problems and the tasks facing you in this field were delineated.

The period since your last congress was marked by important changes in international life. Overall developments were favorable to the cause of peace and forces opposing imperialism.

We Italian communists particularly appreciate the advances made, thanks also to the contribution you made by implementing the Peace Program approved by your 24th congress, toward the liquidation of the cold war and the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and other Western countries, including Italy, the consolidation of detente, and toward the construction of relations based on peaceful coexistence.

Likewise, it is to a great extent due to the tenacious initiative of the Soviet Union that it was possible to stage successfully last summer the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Also important was the contribution toward the construction of new international relations that came during these years from other socialist countries, from nonaligned countries, developing countries, popular forces, and from the realistic tendencies operating among the political forces of the capitalist countries.

It is our firm conviction, and the experience of these years confirms it, that progress toward detente is creating more favorable conditions for the affirmation of the right of each people to decide freely its own future, for the solution of the great problems of the liberation of mankind from imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, the burden of armaments, economic backwardness, and to open new roads toward progress and democracy.

In present-day world conditions, the reasons and possibilities of internationalism are alive and operative more than ever. Looking at the experiences of our country and party, we can say that new vast masses of workers and young people of every orientation are taking an increasingly active part in the internationalist struggles of solidarity. This occurred in the case of Vietnam, the other peoples of Indochina, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola. This occurred in the popular mobilization against the dictatorships oppressing Portugal and Greece. A vast movement is developing in support of the Spanish people in their struggle against the last fascist regime existing in Europe, and for the release of Comrade Luis Corvalan and the other Chilean patriots and an end to the military dictatorship in that country.

In general, we base ourselves upon the observation that the movement of emancipation of the workers and the peoples by becoming broader has also become richer and more articulated. The advancement of mankind necessarily comes about through new experiences and new and different roads in the struggle for national liberation, democratic progress and to build a socialist society.

Therefore, in our view the recognition and respect of the full independence of each country, of each progressive movement and of each communist and workers party, is a principle of decisive and (?drastic) importance.

As regards relations between communist and workers parties, it seems to us that they should be imbued with the spirit of friendship and solidarity; and at the same time, we favor an open and frank comparison of different experiences and positions.

It is known that various points of view exist in the communist movement on important questions, and we agree that the problems that arise must be discussed in a climate of comradeship within the framework of the inalienable norms of equality and respect for the autonomy of each party.

The autonomous elaboration of each party constitutes a decisive factor for the advancement of the real movement toward socialism and for the creative development of our theory.

Comrades: All developed capitalist societies, in Europe in particular, are now involved in a deep crisis encompassing not only the economy, but also political and moral life. We do not forget the experience of the 1920's and 1930's when--taking advantage of opportunistic experiments and [word indistinct] errors perpetrated by workers' and democratic parties--the most reactionary forces of big capital succeeded in shifting the balance of power in their favor and established fascist regimes and policies in various countries.

Similar dangers could also arise today, and we bear this in mind in our entire policy. However, in present conditions, a series of positive phenomena are manifesting themselves. Criticism of the distortions and ravages of capitalism is acquiring a mass character even in our proletarian social strata; there is a growing aspiration for a new social system which will advance toward socialism. The struggles of the workers are becoming more vigorous, and at the same time broader and more unitary.

Within this framework the fact must also be underlined that in the socialist and social democratic parties a shift to the left is taking place, and that in several countries objections to an understanding with the communists are being dropped.

Of great interest too are the trends in an anticapitalist and anti-imperialist direction which are developing in movements of Christian inspiration. In this way, new possibilities are opening up to advance the dialog and the convergence between different worker and popular forces, both inside individual countries and on a Western European scale, and for both immediate objectives and for exploring and traveling together new roads to construct a new society.

In Italy, comrades, the position of our party is today stronger than ever. In last June's administrative and regional elections, the Communist Party obtained over 33 percent of the votes. This advance made it even more apparent that the grave crisis in our country can be solved democratically through social renewal only if the Communist Party is called upon to participate in the running of national political life on equal terms with popular and democratic forces of differing political and ideological persuasions.

In the meantime, the most immediate result of the last elections is that we have taken over--together with the comrades of the Socialist Party and of other democratic forces--responsibility for administering several important regions as well as great cities such as Milan, Turin, Naples, Bologna, Florence and Rome.

From what does this strengthening of our position derive? It derives first and foremost from the deep links we established by years of hard work and struggles with the working class, with millions of workers, with the intellectuals, with great masses of women and young people; and from our active participation, always with concrete and unitary proposals and objectives, in all battles in defense of the interests of the popular masses, for democratic freedoms, for the social and civil progress of Italy, for the moralization of public life.

Our strength also derives from our constant internationalist commitment and struggle for an Italian foreign policy which, within the framework of the international alliances of our country, will contribute actively toward detente and firmly defend the sovereignty of the Italian people against any foreign interference in our internal affairs.

It is our conviction that one of the most important reasons for the growth of our influence lies in the fact that for a long time now we have been engaged in elaborating a road to socialism that fully corresponds with the peculiar character of the historic, civil and political development of our country. Obviously, we want to study (?most carefully) the experiences of other countries in the struggle for socialism and in socialist construction, and to extrapolate what we consider to be their positive and negative features.

The road on which we want to advance is that of powerful unitary and mass movement which would fight for profound social transformations in the direction of socialism. The topicality of the problem of socialism also makes it mandatory to indicate with absolute clarity what sort of socialism we deem necessary and the only one possible for Italian society.

We are fighting for a socialist society that will mark the highest stage in the development of all democratic gains, and guarantee all individual and collective freedoms, plus religious freedom, cultural freedom and freedom for the arts and sciences.

We believe that in Italy it is possible and necessary not only to advance toward socialism, but also to construct a socialist society with the contribution of differing political forces, organizations, and parties, and that the working class can and must assert its historic function in a pluralistic and democratic system.

Comrades, the wish we extend to you for good work and successes, at a time when the celebration of the 60th anniversary of the great socialist revolution of 1917 is approaching, for the advance of Soviet society and new results in our common cause of peace and progress, is sincere and fraternal, just as our speeches are sincere and fraternal.

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To this must be added the interest which we both have in the continuous development of collaboration between our two peoples and countries.

Only a short time has elapsed since the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the great victory over Nazism and fascism, to which your people made a decisive contribution with their sacrifice of millions of human lives. For this contribution, we are and will always remain grateful. With that victory began [applause] a new page in the history of Europe.

Our common objective, I believe is a Europe which will progress in peace and security, which will implement an increasingly intensive cooperation and make its precious contribution to the construction of a world of peace.

Good work therefore comrade delegates! Good work and fraternal good wishes to you, to all communists, to all the peoples of the Soviet Union.
[applause]